

## COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" How shall I speak thee, or thy power address,  
 " Thou God of our Idolatry, the Press?  
 " By thee Religion, Liberty, and Laws,  
 " Exert their influence, and advance their cause;  
 " By thee worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befel,  
 " Diffus'd make Earth the vestibule of Hell;  
 " Thou fountain, at which drink the Good and Wise;  
 " Thou ever-bubbling spring of endless Lies;  
 " Like Eden's dread probationary tree,  
 " Knowledge of Good and Evil is from thee."

COWPER.

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## PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

*Report of the Bullion Committee:*

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS

IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

## LETTER III.

*Danger of exciting popular discontents against country paper-money makers—Description of the National Debt—Progress of the Debt—The different denominations of it of no consequence—Cost of the Anti-jacobin war—Progress of the National Expences—Progress of the Revenue or Taxes—The effect of taxation—Taxes cause poverty and misery in a country—Not like rents—Increase of Revenue no proof of national prosperity—What are the signs of national prosperity—Increase of the poor rates in England—Cost of the Tax-Gatherers sufficient to support 92,500 families.*

Gentlemen,

A London print, which is what is called a ministerial newspaper, and which I, in the discharge of my duty as a public writer, am compelled to read, but which, for the sake of your morals, I hope none of you ever see, has most harshly spoken of that part of our paper money, which is issued by the Bankers, whose shops are in the country. The writer of this print has described that paper, namely, the country bank notes, as "*destructive assignats*;" and, in another of his publications, he calls them "*vile rags*;" and then again, "*dirty rags*." These hard words, besides that

they are unbecoming in sober discussion, can do no good, and may do a great deal of harm, if they have any effect at all upon the minds of the people; and, therefore, we will make a remark or two upon their tendency, before we proceed with the topic mentioned at the close of the last letter.

*Assignats* was the name given to the French revolutionary paper-money, the distresses occasioned by which are fresh in the recollection of most people; and, to give the same name to our country-bank notes was, therefore, to proclaim, as far as this writer was able to proclaim, that these notes, *being more than one half of all our circulating medium*, were as bad, if not worse, than the paper-money of France, which produced so much individual misery to so many millions of people. Not that this was betraying any secret to the world; for, it is beyond all comprehension foolish to suppose, that all the world, particularly our sharp-sighted enemy, are not fully acquainted with our situation in this respect, more especially now that the Bullion Report is abroad; but, what I find fault of, is, that this description of country-bank notes, as contradistinguished from the London bank-notes, has a tendency to excite popular hatred, and, in cases that may happen, popular violence, against that part of our paper-money makers, called country-bankers; than which nothing can be much more unjust in itself, or be more likely to lead to universal confusion, the experience of the world having proved, that commotion, when once on foot, is seldom limited to the accomplishment of its original object; and, we may venture to affirm, that nothing was

ever better calculated to render popular commotion violent, and to push it beyond its natural bounds, than the hatred and revenge, which, it would seem to be the object of the print above mentioned to excite in the minds of the people.

The country paper-money makers are not, as we shall soon see, any more to blame than are the paper-money makers in town. Paper-money making is a trade, or calling, perfectly innocent in itself, and the tradesmen may be very moral and even very liberal men. Amongst them, as amongst men of other trades, there are, doubtless, sharpers and even rogues; and, the trade itself may be one that exposes men to the temptation of becoming roguish; but, it does not follow, that all the paper-money makers, or, that the paper-money makers *in general*, are men of dishonest views. It is, therefore, not only illiberal, but unjust in the extreme, to condemn the whole of the trade in a lump, to call their wares "*destructive as—signats, vile rags, dirty rags,*" and the like, whence it is, of course, intended that it should be understood, that all the issuers of them ought to be regarded as pests of society and treated accordingly; when the truth is, as we shall presently see, the fault is not in individuals, but in the system, out of which the swarm of paper-money makers have grown as naturally and as innocently as certain well-known little animals are engendered by, and live upon, an impoverished and sickly carcass.

Having thus endeavoured to put you upon your guard against the tendency of this very unjust representation of our country bankers and their money, an endeavour, which, it appeared to me, ought not to be delayed, we will now proceed with our subject, and, as was proposed, at the close of the last Letter, inquire into the progress of the Funds and Stocks; or, in more proper terms, into the INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

We have before seen what is the nature of this debt: we have also seen *how it began*: we by-and-by have to show the effects of it: but, what we have to do, at present, is to inquire into, and ascertain, how it has gone on increasing, and what is now its amount. We shall next inquire into the schemes for lessening the Debt; and, then we shall distinguish what is called redeemed from unredeemed debt; but, first of all, let us leave all other views of it aside, and con-

fine our attention merely to the sums borrowed. We have before seen, that the money has been borrowed in various ways, or under various denominations. In some cases the money borrowed was to yield the lender 3 per centum, that is to say 3 pounds interest, yearly, for every hundred pounds of principal. In some cases the lender was to receive 4 per centum; in some cases 5 per centum; and in some cases more. Hence come the denomination of 3 per cents and 4 per cents, and so forth. But, to the people who have to pay the interest, these distinctions are of no consequence at all, any more than it would be to either of us, whether our bakers' bills were made out upon brown paper or upon white. We shall see afterwards what we have to pay yearly in the shape of interest, which is the thing that touches us home; but, let us first see what the principal is, and how it has gone on increasing; bearing in mind, that, as was shown in the foregoing letter, page 292, the borrowing, and, of course, the Debt, began in the year 1692, in the reign of William the Third, and that, the loan made in that year amounted to one million of pounds.

When QUEEN ANNE, who succeeded William, came to the throne, which was in the year 1701, the Debt was .....£.16,394,702

When GEORGE I came to the throne, in 1714, it was .....54,145,303

When GEORGE II came to the throne, in 1727, it was .....32,092,255

When GEORGE III came to the throne, in 1760, it was .....146,682,844

After the AMERICAN WAR, in 1784, it was .....257,213,045

At the latter END OF THE LAST WAR; that is to say, the first war against the French Revolutionists, and which, for the sake of having a distinctive appellation, we will call the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR: at the end of that war, in 1801, the Debt was .....579,981,447

At the PRESENT TIME; or, rather, in January last, ...811,598,082

That is to say, eight hundred and eleven

325] millions, and, and in English accounts, which the some skill THINGS, accountan not mind Debt is w unfunded; Emperor c part the But, inter in England to look afte to us what have to pay pay the in us what na go by? I l day, a ma amused wi your mind that you h the object of mere na pay the in must be ex made to be quence to debt is ca

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millions, eight hundred and ninety eight thousand, and eighty two; and these in pounds, in English pounds, too! There are, in the accounts, laid before parliament (from which the last mentioned sum is taken) some shillings and pence and even FAR-THINGS, in addition; but though these accountants have been so nice, we will not mind a few farthings. Part of this Debt is what is called *funded*, and a part *unfunded*; part is called Irish Debt, part Emperor of Germany's Debt, and another part the Prince Regent of Portugal's. But, *interest upon the whole of it is payable in England*; and that is all that we have to look after; it being of no consequence to us what the thing is called, *so that we have to pay for it*. So that we are taxed to pay the interest of it, what matters it to us what names the several parts of it may go by? I hope, that there is not, at this day, a man amongst you, who is to be amused with empty sounds: I hope, that your minds are not now-a-days, after all that you have seen, to be led away from the object before them by any repetition of mere names. *So long as we are taxed to pay the interest upon the Debt*, that man must be exceedingly weak, who is to be made to believe, that it is of any consequence to any of us by what name that debt is called\*.

Such, then, has been the progress of the National Debt; and, it is well worthy of our attention, that it has increased in an increasing proportion. It is now nearly six times as great as it was when the present king came to the throne; and, which ought to be well attended to, *more than two thirds of the whole of the Debt* has been contracted in carrying on, against the French, that war, which, at its commencement, was to succeed by means of *ruining the finances of France*. When the ANTI-JACOBIN WAR began, in 1793, the Debt was, at the utmost, 257,213,043*l.* It is now 811,898,082*l.* Such has, thus far, been the financial effect; such has been the effect as to money-matters, of the wars against the Jacobins. How many times were we told, that it required but *one* more campaign; *one* more; only *one* more vigorous campaign, to put an end to the war; to destroy, to annihilate, for ever, the resources of France. Alas! those resources have

\* There is, besides the above, the INDIA DEBT; but of that we will speak another time.

not been destroyed. They have increased in a fearful degree; while we have accumulated hundreds of millions of Debt in the attempt. How many writers have flattered us, from time to time, with the hope, nay, the certainty (if we would but persevere) of triumphing over the French by the means of our *riches*! To how many of these deceivers have we been so foolish as to listen! It is this credulity, which has led to the present state of things; and, unless we shake it off at once, and resolve to look our dangers in the face, we shall, I greatly fear, experience that fate which our deceivers told us would be experienced by our enemy. PITT, it is well known, grew into favour with the nation in consequence of his promises and his plans to pay-off the National Debt; and, this same PITT, who found that Debt 257 millions, left it upwards of 600 millions, after having, for twenty years, had the full power of managing all the resources of the nation; after having, for nearly the whole of that time, had the support of three fourths, if not more, of the Members of the House of Commons; after having, of course, adopted whatever measures he thought proper, during the whole of that time. He found the Debt *two hundred and fifty odd millions*, and he left it *six hundred and fifty odd*. This was what was done for England by that PITT, whose own *private debts* the people had to pay, besides the expence of a *monument* to his memory! This is what every man in England should bear constantly in mind.

Having now seen *how the National Debt has increased*, let us next see how the EXPENCES of the Nation have increased; and, then take a look at the increase of the TAXES; for, in order to be able to form a correct opinion upon the main points, touched upon by the Bullion Committee, we must have a full view, not only of the *Debt* but of the *Expences* and the *Taxes* of the nation.

When QUEEN ANNE came to the throne, in 1701, the whole Expences of the year, including the interest on the National Debt, amounted to .....£.5,610,987 Peace.

When GEORGE I. came to the throne, in 1714, and just after

Queen Anne had  
been at war eleven  
years ..... 6,633,581 Peace.  
When GEORGE II.  
came to the throne,  
in 1727, ..... 5,441,248 Peace.  
When GEORGE III.  
came to the throne,  
in 1760 ..... 24,456,940 War.  
After the END OF THE  
AMERICAN WAR,  
and at the begin-  
ning of PIET'S  
Administration, in  
1784 ..... 21,657,609 Peace.  
At the latter End of  
the last, or ANTI-  
JACOBIN WAR, in  
1801, ..... 61,278,018 War.  
For the last year,  
that is, the year  
1809, ..... £.82,027,288 5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  War.

Now, without any thing more than this, let me ask any of you, to whom I address this letter, whether you think it possible for the thing to go on in this way for any great length of time?—If the subject did not present so many considerations to make us serious, it would be quite impossible to refrain from laughing at the scrupulousness that could put *five shillings and a penny three farthings* at the end of a sum of millions that it almost makes one's head swim but to think of. Laughable, however, as we may think it, those who have such accounts made out, think it no laughing matter. It is, on the contrary, looked upon by them, perhaps, as no very unimportant part of the system. Upon looking at the above progress of the Expenditure, it is impossible to avoid being struck with the increase, *during the present reign*. The year 1760 was a time of war as well as the present; but, as we see, a year of war then, cost only 24 millions; whereas a year of war now costs 82 millions. We see, too, that a year of war now costs 20 millions more than a year of war cost only ten years ago. What, then, will be the cost if this war should continue many years longer, and if, as appearances threaten, the enemy should take such measures, and adopt such a change in his mode of hostility, as to add greatly to the expensiveness of our defence? This is a very material consideration; and, though it will hereafter be taken up, still I could not refrain from just touching upon it in this place. Am I told, that *our money is*

*depreciated, or fallen off in value*; and that the increase in our Expences is more *nominal* than real; that the increase is in name; merely in the figures, and not in the thing; for that a pound is not worth any thing like what a pound was worth when the king came to the throne? Am I told this? If I am, I say, that we are not yet come to the proper place for discussing matters of this sort; that we shall come to it all in good time; but, that, in the meanwhile, I may hope to hear no more abuse of our doctrines, from those, at least, who, in this way, would reconcile our minds to the enormous increase in the Nation's yearly Expences.

Having now taken a view of the increase of the *Debt*, and also of the yearly *Expences* of the nation, let us now see how the *Revenue*, or *Income*, or, more properly speaking, the *TAXES*; that is to say, the money received from the people, in the course of the year, by the several sorts of Tax-gatherers; let us now see how the amount of these has gone on increasing.

When QUEEN ANNE came  
to the throne, in 1701,  
the yearly amount of the  
taxes was ..... £.4,212,588  
When GEORGE I. came to  
the throne, in 1714, it was 6,762,648  
When GEORGE II. came to  
the throne, in 1727, it was 6,522,540  
When GEORGE III. came to  
the throne, in 1760, it was 8,744,682  
After the AMERICAN war,  
in 1784, it was ..... 13,300,921  
At the Close of the Anti-  
Jacobin war, in 1801, it  
was ..... 36,728,071  
For the last year, that is  
1809, it was ..... 70,240,226

It is quite useless to offer any comments upon this. The figures speak too plainly for themselves to receive any assistance from words. As to the *correctness* of these statements, there may, perhaps, be found some little inaccuracies in the copying of the figures, and in adding some of the sums together; but, these must be very immaterial; and, indeed, none of the questions, which we have to discuss, can possibly be affected by any little error of this sort. I say this in order to bar any cavil that may, possibly, be attempted to be raised out of circumstances, such as I have here mentioned.

Thus, fore us, Debts, the nation; to impr man, wh confined persons, may have not. Th again to again! I Can any you pay All the written up to persuas with tax though th language makes to war; for presses h pelled to

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Thus, then, we have pretty fairly before us, a view of the increase of the *Debts*, the *Expences*, and the *Taxes*, of the nation; and a view it is quite sufficient to impress with serious thoughts every man, whose regard for his country is not confined to mere professions. There are persons, I know, who laugh at this. They may have reason to laugh; but we have not. The pretence is, that taxes *return* again to those who pay them. Return again! In what manner do they return? Can any of you perceive the taxes that you pay coming back again to you? All the interested persons who have written upon taxation, have endeavoured to persuade the people, that, to load them with taxes does them no harm at all, though this is in direct opposition to the language of every speech that the King makes to the Parliament, during every war; for, in every such Speech, he expresses his deep sorrow, that he is compelled to lay new burdens upon his people.

The writers here alluded to, the greater part of whom live, or have a design to live, upon the taxes, always appear to consider the nation as being *rich* and *prosperous* in proportion to the *quantity of taxes* that is raised upon it; never seeming to take into their views of riches and prosperity the *ease* and *comfort* of the people who pay the taxes. The notion of these persons seems to be, that, as there always will be more food raised and more goods made in the country than is sufficient for those, who own and who till the soil, and who labour in other ways, that the surplus, or super-abundance, ought to fall to *their* share; or, at least, that it ought to be *taken away in taxes*, which produce a luxurious way of living, and luxury gives *employment* to the people; that is to say, that it sets them to work *to earn their own money back again*. This is a mighty favour to be sure.

The tendency of taxation is, to create a class of persons, who do not labour: to take from those who do labour the produce of that labour, and to give it to those who do not labour. The produce taken away is, in this case, *totally destroyed*; but, if it were expended, or consumed, amongst those who labour, it would produce something in its stead. There would be more, or better cloth; more, or better, houses; and these would be more generally distributed; while the

growth of vice, which idleness always engenders and fosters, would be prevented.

If, by the gripe of taxation, every grain of the surplus produce of a country be taken from the lowest class of those who labour; they will have the means of *bare existence* left. Of course, their clothing and their dwellings will become miserable, their food bad, or in stinted quantity; that surplus produce which should go to the making of an addition to their meal, and to the creating of things for their use, will be *annihilated* by those who do nothing but eat. Suppose, for instance, a community to consist of a farmer, four cottagers, a taylor, a shoemaker, a smith, a carpenter, and a mason, and that the land produces enough food for them all and no more. Suppose this little community to be seized with a design to imitate their betters, and to keep a sinecure placeman, giving him the tenth of their produce which they formerly gave to their shoemaker. The consequence would be, that poor CRISPIN would die, and they would go bare-footed, with the consolation of reflecting that they had brought themselves into this state from the silly vanity of keeping an idle man. But, suppose the land to yield enough food for all ten of them, and enough for two persons besides. They have this, then, besides what is absolutely necessary to supply their wants. They can spare one of their men from the field, and have, besides, food enough to keep him in some other situation. Now, which is best, to make him a second carpenter, who, in return for his food, would give them additional and permanent convenience and comfort in their dwellings; or to make him a sinecure placeman or a singer, in either of which places he would be an annihilator of corn, at the same time, that, in case of emergency, he would not be half so able to defend the community. Suppose *two* of the cultivators became sinecure placemen, then you kill the carpenter or some one else, or what is more likely, all the labouring part of the community, that is to say, all but the sinecure placemen, live more miserably, in dress, in dwellings, and in food. This reasoning applied to *tens*, applies equally well to *millions*, the causes and effects being, in the latter case, only a little more difficult to trace.

Such is the way in which taxes operate;

the distinction between which operation and the operation of *rents* being this, that, in the latter case, you *receive* something of which you have the particular enjoyment, for what you give; and, in the former case you receive nothing. It is by no means to be understood, that there should be no persons to live without what is generally called labour. Physicians, Parsons, Lawyers, and others of the higher callings in life, do, in fact, labour; and it is right that there should be persons of great estate, and without any profession at all; but, then, you will find, that these persons *do not live upon the earnings of others*: they all of them give something in return for what they receive. Those of the learned professions give the *use of their talents and skill*; and the landlord gives the *use of his land or his houses*.

Nor ought we to look upon all taxes as so much of the fruit of our labour lost, or taken away without cause. Taxes are necessary in every community; and the man, whether he be statesman, soldier, or sailor, who is in the service of the community, gives his services in return for that portion of the taxes which he receives. We are not talking against *taxes in general*; nor, indeed, will we stop here to inquire, whether *our taxes*, at their present amount, be necessary; or, whether, by other *counsels*, they *might*, in great part, at least, have been avoided. These are questions, which, for the present, we will wholly pass over, our object being to come at a correct opinion with regard to the *effect* of heavy taxation upon the people who have to support it, reserving for another opportunity our remarks and opinions as to the *necessity* of such taxation in our particular case.

By national *prosperity* the writers above alluded to mean something very different indeed from that which you and I, who have no desire to live upon the taxes, should call national prosperity. They look upon it, or, at least, they would have us look upon it as being demonstrated in the increase of the number of chariots and of fine-dressed people in and about the purlieus of the court; whereas, reflection will not fail to teach us, that this is a demonstration of the increase of the taxes, and nothing more. National prosperity shews itself in very different ways: in the plentiful meal, the comfortable dwelling, the decent furniture and dress, the healthy and happy countenances, and

the good morals, of *the labouring classes of the people*. These are the ways in which national prosperity shows itself; and, whatever is not attended with these signs, is not national prosperity. Need I ask *you*, then, if heavy taxation be calculated to produce these effects? Have our labourers a plentiful meal of food fit for man? Do they taste meat once in a day? Are they decently clothed? Have they the means of obtaining firing? Are they and their children healthy and happy? I put these questions to you, Gentlemen, who have the means of knowing the facts, and who must, I am afraid, answer them all in the negative.

But, why need we here leave any thing to conjecture, when we have the undeniable proof before us, in the accounts, laid before Parliament, of the amount of the *Poor Rates*, at two different periods, and, of course, at two different stages in our taxation; namely, in the year 1754, and in the year 1803? At the former period, the taxes of the year, as we have seen above, amounted to £.13,300,921; and then the Poor Rates amounted to £.2,105,623. At the latter period, the taxes of the year (as will be seen from the Official Statement in Register, Vol. IV, page 1471) amounted to £.41,931,747; and the Poor Rates had then risen to £.5,246,506. What must they, then, amount to at this day, when the year's taxes amounts to upwards of 70 millions of pounds?

Here, then, we have a pretty good proof, that *taxation and pauperism* go hand in hand. We here see what was produced by the ANTIJACOBIN WAR. The taxes continued nearly the same from 1784 to 1793, the year in which PITT began that war; so that, by the ANTIJACOBIN WAR alone the poor rates were augmented, in nominal amount, from £.2,105,623 to £.5,246,506; at which we shall not be surprized, if we apply to this case the principle above illustrated in the supposed community of ten men, where it is shown, that, by taking the produce of labour from the proprietors of it, and giving it to those, who do not labour and who do not give the proprietors of such produce any thing in return, *poverty*, or, at least, a *less degree of ease and enjoyment*, must be the consequence.

The poor-rates alone now are equal in amount to the whole of the national ex-

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penditure, including the interest of the Debt, when the late king came to the throne; and, the charges of managing the taxes; that is to say, the wages, salaries, or allowances, to the *Tax-Gatherers* of various descriptions; the bare charge which we pay on this account amounts to very little short of as much as the whole of the taxes amounted to when the late king was crowned.

This charge; that is, to say, *what we pay to the Tax-gatherers*, in one shape or another, is stated, in the account laid before Parliament for the last year, at £2,886,201, a sum equal to a year's wages of 92,500 labourers at *twelve shillings a week*, which may, I suppose, be looked upon as the average wages of labourers, take all the kingdom through. Is this *no evil*? Are we to be persuaded, that, to take the means of supporting 92,500 families, consisting, upon the usual computation (5 to a family), of 461,000 souls; that to take away the means of supporting all these, and giving those means to support others, whose business it is to *tax* the rest, instead of adding to the stock of the community by their labour; are we to be persuaded, that this is *no evil*; and that, too, though we see the poor rates grown from 2 millions to 5 millions in the space of 10 years? Are we to be persuaded to believe this? Verily, if we are, it is a great shame for us to pretend to laugh at the Mahomedans.

Having now taken a view of the progress of the National Debt together with that of the National *Expences* and *Taxes*; and having (by stepping a little aside for a moment) seen something of their effect upon National *prosperity*, we will, in the next Letter, agreeably to the intention before expressed, inquire into the schemes for *arresting* this fearful progress; or, as they are generally denominated, plans for *paying off*, or *reducing*, the National Debt; a subject of very great importance, because, as we must now be satisfied, the *bank-notes* have increased with the Debt, and, of course, the reducing of the Debt would, if it were accomplished, tend to the reduction of the quantity of bank-notes, by the excess of which it is, as the Bullion Committee have declared, that the gold coin has been driven from circulation.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,  
11th Sept. 1810.

### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SWEDEN.—There is little, at present, to be added, upon this subject, to what was said, in my last, ending at page 307. I cannot, however, refrain from endeavouring to reinforce what I before said, relative to the idea, started in the Morning Post, of an *alliance* between Russia, Denmark, and England. The writer of that print (See page 300) calls upon the two former powers, and says, that “their only *security* is in a sincere and close alliance “with Great Britain, under whose *protecting wings* they are *sure* to experience a “prompt and *effectual shelter*.”—The thing is too wild; it is too mad; paradoxical as it may seem, it is too ridiculous to laugh at. Really it is hardly to be believed, that any man should be found so devoid of all sense of shame as to put this upon paper, and to send it forth to the public, while the fate of Holland, Prussia, Austria, Naples, Piedmont, and even of Russia itself, is fresh in the recollection, nay, right before the eyes of that public, and which public, too, have paid so dearly for what has been going on. It is hardly to be believed, that any man should be found so devoid of shame. Louis XVIII, the Stadtholder, the two kings of Spain, the Prince and Queen of Portugal, the king of Sardinia, the Pope: with the fate of all these before him, does this shameless writer put forth his invitation with as much confidence as if they were all restored to their former power. This is, indeed, shameful in the extreme; and, surely, never could be tolerated by any set of persons in the world, who did not desire to have truth disguised from them.—An alliance with England, too, always includes *subsidies*; and, does the nation really think, that this is a time for it to pay subsidies, when, even men who may be supposed to have very little mercy upon the public purse, acknowledge, that we must have *retrenchments*? I do not know, that it is necessary to send subsidies either in gold or silver; but I know, that they must be sent in *money's worth*; that whatever is so sent is so much taken from the enjoyment of the people in this country; and, that, while each subsidy must add to the Debt of the Nation, it must add to the burden of taxes, the hardships of the people, and the quantity of bank notes. Let us hope, therefore, that the notion of an alliance with Russia and Denmark, under the present circumstances, is confined to the head of

this very mad writer for our "fashionable world;" though, mind, I by no means pledge myself that such is the case, being of opinion that there are others pretty nearly as foolish as he is mad; nor should I at all wonder if such people were even to believe, in good earnest, that it would be an easy matter for us to gain the cordial friendship of the Danes!—This same writer and his fellow labourers are now endeavouring, through the instrumentality of General Sarrazin, to persuade this insulted and patient public, that Napoleon has sent Bernadotte to Sweden, and made him the successor to the throne of that kingdom, in order to get him out of the way; in order to get rid of a rival! What shall we be told next? What will General Sarrazin and the Morning Post tell us next? The notion hitherto has been, that Napoleon had other ways of getting rid of those whom he wished to get rid of. How shameful are these falsehoods. What a disgrace are they to the nation. And, what a mischievous thing is the press, when, as is pointed out in my motto, it is employed for such purposes. —The main tendency, and, most likely, the main object, of all such publications, is, to deceive the nation; to keep its eyes shut to its real situation; to persuade it, that, though the event which has taken place seems fearful, still that there is a set-off in the situation, or circumstances, of our great enemy; and, that, after all, Bernadotte is likely, when he gets into Sweden, not to be the friend of Napoleon. Such is, to all appearance, the view with which these publications are sent forth to the world; and, I am very far indeed from underrating the effect of them; for, unless we suppose, that the corrupt part of the press of this country has produced great effect upon the minds of the people; has kept them in darkness: unless we suppose this, it is impossible to account for that infatuation, which has led to the dangers, with which we are more and more closely beset, and even in the midst of which many still seem to be as insensible as ever. —In the public prints of only a few days ago, it was stated, from the French papers, that, on the Emperor's birth day, two ships of war, of eighty guns, were launched; one at Toulon and the other at Antwerp. No notice was taken of this fact: it was too trifling a thing to be even referred to by our wise and loyal writers, who seem to think it much more useful and more becoming,

to detail the "secrets" brought to England by a train of impostors, whose design, at the very best, is to prey upon English credulity. —Two ships of eighty guns is no mean addition to a navy. Such a place of ship-building as Antwerp there is not in all Europe, all the timber being so close at hand. At the peace of Amiens there was at Antwerp no more of an arsenal than there now is at Hungerford Stairs. If, then, 20 ships have already been built at Antwerp, what will be done there in future?—In short, it is impossible to look at the means, which our enemy has of forming a navy, without feeling alarm for the safety of the country, and especially when we see such continual attempts, such a settled system, for keeping the nation in blindness with regard to its danger.

IRELAND.—One would suppose, that, in a state of things like the present, we should hear nothing, from those especially who are loud in their cries against Napoleon; from such persons, we might hope to hear nothing, tending to add fuel to the flames which have so long been burning in Ireland. Yet, as we shall see, from an article, which I am now about to insert with the hope of defeating its evil effects, that, by some of the persons of this description, every effort seems to be making, not only to keep alive the heart-burnings in the "sister country," but to aggravate them and render them incurable.—The distresses, which Ireland has been enduring for some time past, and which have, of late, greatly increased, have given rise to meetings, in different places, to consider of what means ought to be adopted in such an emergency; and, it having, in many, or, in some, at least, of those meetings, been determined, that the Union has been the cause of the miseries of Ireland, it has, as a natural consequence, been also determined by those meetings, to petition the Parliament for a repeal of the act of Union.—Now, whether the gentlemen, who have come to these determinations, be correct either in their facts or their reasonings, it is very certain that they have a right to meet and deliberate upon such subjects; they have a right to express their opinions upon them; they have a right to publish those opinions to the world; and, they have a right to submit them to the Parliament or the King, in the shape of a petition; or, if they have not such right,

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is it not a shame for us to talk about *rights* at all; for, what is this more than the right of crying out when you think yourself hurt, and praying most humbly not to be hurt any longer?—Yet, this is a right, which, according to the notions of some of our loyalty-professing news-paper writers, is too much for the Irish to enjoy; and, accordingly, one of these worthies, falls on upon them with charges of faction and sedition and treason. He says: “The mass of those who support the Petitions are persons who entertain principles that are equally hostile to the true interests of both Countries. There are unfortunately, both in Great Britain and Ireland, many persons who eagerly seize every opportunity that presents itself of embarrassing the Government, at a moment when the pressure of public danger ought to call forth the exertions of every individual to secure the general safety. We have seen many men, we regret to say, who boast of their attachment to their country, yet who have for years exerted all their faculties to depress the spirits and damp the energies of their Countrymen—who upon all occasions decry the successes obtained by our arms, while they are equally ready to magnify those of the enemy; whose predictions are always of the most gloomy nature, who fasten with delight upon any thing that has the appearance of a public calamity; in a word, men who, under the pretext and cloak of patriotism, are in effect doing every thing in their power to serve the cause of our inveterate enemy. The unfortunate commercial embarrassments which have recently occurred afforded too favourable an opportunity to be neglected; accordingly it has been studiously represented in Ireland, that those embarrassments have arisen entirely from the Union, and that therefore that measure ought to be repealed, although it is one upon which, in the opinion of every rational and dispassionate man, not only the interests, but even the permanent safety of the two countries depend. Nobody can feel more sincerely for the sufferings of those manufacturers in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, who are out of employment, than we do; but surely the way to relieve those sufferings is not to attribute them to a wrong cause, and to endeavour first to aggravate the discontent arising from temporary distress, and then to convert it to the ser-

vice of some political or party purpose. “The extraordinary and unprecedented situation of Europe, owing to the capricious but relentless tyranny of the man who unfortunately rules over the greater part of it—the violent, and in many instances successful, efforts that he has made to force commerce out of its natural channels—the almost total annihilation of Commercial Capital and Credit on the Continent of Europe—the hostile regulations of the American Government—and the eagerness of speculation, by which the markets of South America were so greatly over-stocked, surely afford grounds enough to account for the recent commercial embarrassments both in Great Britain and Ireland, without recurring to the Union, a measure with which they can, by no possibility, have any connection. It might as well have been asserted by those persons in Scotland, who were partakers in the general distress in 1720, that their misfortune was occasioned by the Union between England and Scotland, which happened twelve years before. Or it might as truly now be said, that the failures in the City of London in 1810, were to be attributed to the Union between Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. We trust, however, that the good sense of the people of Ireland will see through the attempts that are made to deceive them, and that the unremitting exertions of the Irish Government will be successful in effectually relieving this temporary embarrassment.”—Now, as to the point at issue, namely, whether the Union has, or has not, been the cause of the manifold miseries which, as this writer is obliged to allow, exist in Ireland, what does he say to prove, or to make any one believe, the negative of the proposition? Numerous bodies in Ireland, consisting of intelligent and independent men, have declared that the Union is the cause of their country’s misery. And, what does this bold reproacher say to shew that that opinion is not well founded? Not a single fact, or a single argument, does he produce. He says, that “it has been studiously represented in Ireland, that its embarrassments have arisen entirely from the Union, although it is a measure, upon which, in the opinion of every rational man, the interests and the very safety of the country depend.” Thou madman! This is thy way of arguing, is it? This is thy way of proving to “the

“fashionable world” that what is going forward in Ireland is wicked, and that those who support it are leagued in hostility towards both countries? And, it is by this sort of *arguing*, is it, that you and your wise coadjutors hope to answer all the able and eloquent representations of the Irish Petitioners? No: you do not hope to do this; but, you entertain the hope of being, by such means as these, able to expose them to the hatred, or to the suspicion, at least, of the people of England, who, it must be confessed, have always been but *too ready* to become the dupes of such artifices, instead of rejecting with scorn, or, at least, never believing but upon clear proof, any thing to the prejudice of their fellow-subjects in Ireland.—This assailant of the Irish Petitioners tells us, that the way to relieve the sufferings of the people of that country “is, *surely*, not to attribute them to a *wrong cause*.” Very true, and, therefore, the Irish Petitioners attribute them to a *right cause*. At least, so they say, and so I shall believe, till the contrary be *shown*; and this their assailant has not attempted to do, except in a way that tends to confirm, instead of to shake, the opinions of the Petitioners. He tells us, that the miseries of Ireland do not arise from the *Union*, but, from *Napoleon’s sway upon the continent of Europe* and the events growing out of it. Now, this *may* be true enough, and, in part, it is, I believe, true; but, then, what was the cause, and what is the cause, of Napoleon’s having that sway? This is the question; and, if the Irish believe, that the Union has contributed to the creating of Napoleon’s power, which, in divers ways it may, then, even upon the assertion of this writer, they are right in complaining of the effects of the Union.—But, the ground, upon which this writer goes is wholly false. The miseries of Ireland are not of a *mercantile* nature; if they were they would be *temporary*; and, if they had been of this sort, would the continent of America now be peopled with the sons and daughters of Ireland? Ireland’s, if I may be allowed the expression, is a disease of the mind, or, rather, of the heart; and, whatever *may* be the way to cure her, that which is pursued by this writer and his fellow-labourers certainly is *not* the way; but, on the contrary, if any thing can make the matter worse; if any thing can add to the poignancy of that heart-corroding disease, it is the language of reproach and of accusation, which, unsup-

ported by any thing to prove the justice of it, they scruple not, upon all occasions, to assume.—We are here told, that this is “a moment when *the pressure of public danger ought to call forth the exertions of every individual to secure the general safety*.” And, what are the means that he employs to favour this effect? Why, the accusing of a great part of the people, and of the most intelligent and active of the people of Ireland, of a desire to *embarrass the government*; to *depress the spirit of the nation*; and, in a word, “*to serve the cause of our inveterate enemy*.” These are the means that he employs for calling forth the zealous exertions of every individual to secure the general safety.—But, here again we are presented with nothing new. It is the stale practice of seventeen years. It is, indeed, the practice pursued by all such persons in all times of our history; though never so much as of late, and never with consequences so visibly fatal.—One might, however, have hoped to see this practice, in the present circumstances, discontinued. It has been openly declared in Parliament, that there is a *French Party* in Ireland; not a few contemptible persons attached to the French; not merely a little *faction*; but a *Party*; and, upon that ground, an *Act was passed*, and is still kept in existence. And, the writer, who now thus reproaches the Irish Petitioners, has, very lately, said, that Ireland is *so worked with French conspiracies*, that an *army is necessary there*, though none be necessary in England. One might have hoped, then, that, under such circumstances, and especially when we see Napoleon drawing his maritime means around us, and when all the world must know, that Ireland is our vulnerable point; under such circumstances, with such a crowd of powerful motives for conciliation, one might have hoped to see every English writer carefully abstain from imputations like those which I have cited above, and which are manifestly calculated, if not intended, to cut off the possibility of all conciliation; than which it is not in my power to form an idea of any thing more odious or more wicked.

PORTUGAL.—I had something further to say upon the affairs of Ireland, which is more dear to us than all the world besides, but, perceiving an attempt, in the Morning Post of this day, to deprive us, to rob us, to steal away slyly, our army in Portugal, I could not refrain from employ-

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ing the small space I have left, in crying  
 "stop thief."—The attempt is as follows ;  
 —"The British army now in Portugal  
 "amounts to 28,000 fighting men, all in ex-  
 "cellent health and spirits. Of these 24,000  
 "are under the immediate command of lord  
 "Wellington, including gen. Hill's divi-  
 "sion. The remainder are at Tomar,  
 "under general Leith, with the exception  
 "of one regiment at Lisbon. Further re-  
 "inforcements will soon go out from this  
 "country. The 79th and 94th have al-  
 "ready left Cadiz for Portugal; two more  
 "regiments are to follow; and another  
 "corps is daily expected from North Ame-  
 "rica; so that in a short time our force in  
 "Portugal will be very formidable. Still,  
 "however, it will be far out-numbered by  
 "that of the enemy, as appears by Massena's  
 "Proclamation, which asserts that he has  
 "under his orders 110,000 men. This,  
 "we need not say, will be an irrefragable  
 "authority in the eyes of the factious  
 "writers among us, who have so often stated  
 "Massena's army did not exceed 35,000  
 "men, and that of that number, no less than  
 "25,000 were sick. Massena's own asser-  
 "tion will also prove the correctness of  
 "our information, when, from other  
 "sources of intelligence, we estimated  
 "the enemy's force at 85,000 men, indepen-  
 "dently of large reinforcements, which  
 "were then pouring into Spain.—We be-  
 "lieve the latest official advices from our  
 "army in Portugal are of the 19th ult.  
 "The French had then commenced the  
 "siege of Almeida, and lord Wellington  
 "was concentrating his forces, among  
 "other objects, with a view of compelling  
 "the French to keep in a collected body,  
 "and thus increase their difficulties as to  
 "supplies. The last private letters from  
 "our army are of the 20th. They state  
 "that lord Wellington had removed his  
 "head-quarters to Alverca, and that our  
 "out-posts extended to within eight or  
 "ten miles of Pinhel."—Here we catch him  
 "in the fact. What, then, do you sink our  
 "Portuguese army of 30 thousand fighting  
 "men and the 20 thousand Portuguese Mi-  
 "litia and the 20 thousand men under Ro-  
 "mana and others who were co-operating  
 "with our army of 60 thousand men and  
 "20 thousand Militia in Portugal? Do you  
 "mean to sink all these, and all the nume-  
 "rous deserters, too, from the French army?  
 "All the hundreds and thousands of Poles  
 "and Swiss and Germans and Italians and  
 "even French, who, we were told, over and  
 "over again, had deserted?—No: it was

no "factious writer," it was your mad and  
 "loyal" self, who said, and who vowed  
 and swore, that Massena's army was wast-  
 ing away with sickness and want. It was  
 yourself who said this, and who reproached  
 the Morning Chronicle for expressing its  
 disbelief of your assertions. You have,  
 for weeks past, filled your columns with  
 accounts of the wasted state of the French  
 army, and with whatever appeared most  
 likely to cause the public to believe, that  
 ours was the army of superior power. Did  
 you not tell us, that Massena was retreat-  
 ing? Did you not tell us, that lord Tala-  
 vera possessed, under Napoleon's own  
 hand, a declaration that it was out of the  
 power of the latter to send assistance to  
 the former, and even that Napoleon ex-  
 pected lord Talavera to beat Massena?  
 And, do you now call out against "the  
 "factious writers," who would fain make  
 the world believe, that Massena's army is  
 weak and sickly?—So, so! You now tell  
 us, that, after all, our army "will be far  
 "out-numbered by the enemy." So the  
 Morning Chronicle said, and you abused  
 him for it, and for the conclusions that he  
 drew therefrom; and, now you are abus-  
 ing him, and any one else, who shall say,  
 that our army is not out-numbered.—If  
 this be not madness, it is something a  
 great deal worse.—But, the worst of all  
 is, the attempt to steal off our Portuguese  
 army of 30 thousand men; that 30 thou-  
 sand men, whom we, the people of this  
 country are paying. Oh, no: you shall  
 not! We have an army of 60 THOUSAND  
 FIGHTING MEN in Portugal, and the  
 existence of that army, if no one else will  
 maintain it, shall be maintained to the  
 last by

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,  
 11th September, 1810.

# OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and  
 Navigation between his Britannic Majesty  
 and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent  
 of Portugal.—Signed at Rio de Janeiro,  
 the 19th of February, 1810.—(Concluded  
 from p. 320.)

..... It is understood, that  
 any such reduction so granted by either  
 party to the other, shall not be granted  
 afterwards (except upon the same terms  
 and for the same compensation) in fa-  
 vour of any other state or nation what-

soever. And this declaration is to be considered as reciprocal on the part of the two high contracting parties.—XX. But as there are some articles of the growth and produce of Brazil, which are excluded from the markets and home consumption of the British dominions, such as Sugar, Coffee, and other articles similar to the produce of the British Colonies, his Britannic Majesty, willing to favour and protect (as much as possible) the Commerce of the subjects of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, consents, and permits, that the said articles, as well as all other the growth and produce of Brazil, and all other parts of the Portuguese dominions, may be received and warehoused in all the ports of his dominions, which shall be by law appointed to be warehousing ports for those articles, for the purpose of re-exportation, under due regulation, exempted from the greater duties with which they would be charged were they destined for consumption within the British dominions, and liable only to the reduced duties and expences on warehousing and re-exportation.—XXI. In like manner, notwithstanding the general privilege of admission thus granted in the fifteenth article of the present treaty by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, in favour of all goods and merchandizes, the produce and manufacture of the British dominions; his Royal Highness reserves to himself the right of imposing heavy, and even prohibitory duties on all articles known by the name of British East Indian goods and West Indian produce, such as sugar and coffee, which cannot be admitted for consumption in the Portuguese dominions, by reason of the same principle of colonial policy, which prevents the free admission into the British dominions of corresponding articles of Brazilian produce. But his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal consents that all the ports of his dominions, where there are or may be Custom Houses, shall be free ports for the reception and admission of all articles whatsoever, the produce or manufacture of the British dominions, not destined for the consumption of the place at which they may be received or admitted, but for re-exportation, either for other ports of the dominions of Portugal, or for those of other states. And the articles thus received and admitted (subject to due regulations) shall be exempted from the duties, with which they

would be charged if destined for the consumption of the place at which they be landed or warehoused, and liable only to the same expences that may be paid by articles of Brazilian produce received and warehoused for re-exportation in the ports of his Britannic Majesty's dominions.—XXII. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, in order to facilitate and encourage the legitimate commerce, not only of the subjects of Great Britain, but also of those of Portugal, with other states adjacent to his own dominions, and with a view also to augment and secure that part of his own revenue which is derived from the collection of warehousing duties upon merchandize, is pleased to declare the port of Saint Catherines to be a free port, according to the terms mentioned in the preceding article of the present treaty.—XXIII. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal being desirous to place the system of commerce announced by the present Treaty, upon the most extensive basis, is pleased to take the opportunity afforded by it, of publishing the determination pre-conceived in his Royal Highness's mind of rendering Goa a free port, and of permitting the free toleration of all Religious Sects whatever in that City and in its Dependencies.—XXIV. All trade with the Portuguese possessions situated upon the Eastern Coast of the Continent of Africa (in articles not included in the exclusive contracts possessed by the Crown of Portugal) which may have been formerly allowed to the subjects of Great Britain, is confirmed and secured to them now, and for ever, in the same manner as the trade which has hitherto been permitted to Portuguese subjects in the ports and seas of Asia confirmed and secured to them by virtue of the Sixth Article of the present Treaty.—XXV. But in order to give due effect to that system of perfect reciprocity which the two High Contracting Parties are willing to establish as the basis of their mutual relations, his Britannic Majesty consents to wave the right of creating factories or incorporated bodies of British Merchants, under any name or description whatsoever, within the dominions of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal; provided, however, that this concession in favour of the wishes of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal shall not deprive the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, residing within the dominions of Portugal, of the full en-

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joyment as individuals engaged in commerce, of any of those rights and privileges which they did or might possess as members of incorporated commercial bodies; and also that the commerce and trade carried on by British subjects shall not be restricted, annoyed, or otherwise affected by any commercial company whatever, possessing exclusive privileges and favours within the dominions of Portugal. And his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal does also engage, that he will not consent nor permit that any other nation or state shall possess factories or incorporated bodies of merchants within his dominions, so long as British factories shall not be established therein.—

XXVI. The two High Contracting Parties agree, that they will forthwith proceed to the revision of all other former Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, for the purpose of ascertaining what stipulations contained in them are in the present state of affairs proper to be continued or renewed. It is agreed and declared, that the stipulations contained in former Treaties concerning the admission of the wines of Portugal on the one hand, and the woollen cloths of Great Britain on the other, shall at present remain unaltered. In the same manner it is agreed, that the favour, privileges, and immunities granted by either Contracting Party to the subjects of the other, whether by Treaty, Decree, or Alvara, shall remain unaltered, except the power granted by former Treaties, of carrying in the ships of either country goods and merchandizes of any description whatever, the property of the enemies of the other country, which power is now mutually and publicly renounced and abrogated.—XXVII. The reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation, declared and announced by the present Treaty, shall be considered to extend to all goods and merchandizes whatsoever, except those articles the property of the enemies of either power, or contraband of war.—

XXVIII. Under the name of contraband or prohibited articles shall be comprehended not only arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucisses, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket rests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head pieces, helmets, cuirasses, halberts, javelins, holsters, belts, horses, and their harness, but generally all other articles that may have been specified as contraband in any former Treaties concluded by Great Britain

or by Portugal with other powers. But goods which have not been wrought into the form of warlike instruments, or which cannot become such, shall not be reputed contraband; much less such as have been already wrought and made up for other purposes; all which shall be deemed not contraband, and may be freely carried by the subjects of both Sovereigns even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only such places as are besieged, blockaded, or invested by sea or land.—

XXIX. In case any ships or vessels of war, or merchantmen, should be shipwrecked on the coasts of either of the High Contracting Parties; all such parts of the said ships or vessels, or of the furniture and appurtenances thereof, as also of goods and merchandizes as shall be saved, or the produce thereof, shall be faithfully restored upon the same being claimed by the proprietors or their factors duly authorised, paying only the expences incurred in the preservation thereof, according to the rate of salvage settled on both sides (saving at the same time the rights and customs of each nation, the abolition or modification of which shall, however, be treated upon in the cases where they shall be contrary to the stipulations of the present article;) and the High Contracting Parties will mutually interpose their authority, that such of their subjects as shall take advantage of any such misfortune, may be severely punished.—XXX.

And, for the greater security and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is further agreed, that both his Britannic Majesty and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, shall not only refuse to receive any pirates or sea-rovers whatsoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their subjects, citizens, or inhabitants, on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houses, or to assist them in any manner whatsoever; but further, that they shall cause all such pirates and sea-rovers, and all persons who shall receive, conceal, or assist them, to be brought to condign punishment, for a terror and example to others. And all their ships, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports belonging to either of the High Contracting Parties, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or the factors duly authorised or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being first given to prove the

property, even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be ascertained that the buyers knew or might have known that they had been piratically taken.—XXXI. For the future security of commerce and friendship between the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to the end that their mutual good understanding may be preserved from all interruption and disturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if at any time there should arise any disagreement, breach of friendship, or rupture between the crowns of the high contracting parties, which God forbid, (which rupture shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective Ambassadors and Ministers) the subjects of each of the two parties residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of interruption, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws and ordinances; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may retire with their effects and property, whether entrusted to individuals, or to the state. At the same time it is to be understood that this favour is not to be extended to those who shall act in any manner contrary to the established laws.—XXXII. It is agreed and stipulated by the High Contracting Parties, that the present Treaty shall be unlimited in point of duration, that the obligations and conditions expressed or implied in it shall be perpetual and immutable; and they shall not be changed or affected in any manner in case his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, his heirs or successors, should again establish the seat of the Portuguese Monarchy within the European dominions of that Crown.—XXXIII. But the two high contracting parties do reserve to themselves the right of jointly examining and revising the several Articles of this Treaty at the expiration of 15 years, counted in the first instance from the date of the exchange of the Ratification thereof, and of then proposing, discussing, and making such amendments or additions, as the real interests of their respective subjects may seem to require. It

being understood that any stipulation which at the period of revision of the Treaty shall be objected to by either of the high contracting parties, shall be considered as suspended in its operation until the discussion concerning that stipulation shall be terminated, due notice being previously given to the other contracting party of the intended suspension of such stipulation, for the purpose of avoiding mutual inconvenience.—XXXIV. The several stipulations and conditions of the present Treaty shall begin to have effect from the date of his Britannic Majesty's Ratification thereof; and the mutual exchange of Ratification shall take place in the city of London within the space of four months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present Treaty.

In Witness whereof, We the Undersigned, Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty and of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, in virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present Treaty with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be set thereto.

Done in the city of Rio de Janeiro, on the nineteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ten.

(L. S.)

STRANGFORD,

(L. S.)

CONDE DE LINHARES.

AMERICA.—*Massachusetts Legislature: Extract from the Answer of the House of Representatives to the Governor's Speech: June 11. (Concluded from p. 192.)*

..... This House ardently desires, that this state of things may be changed. And although expectation is almost destroyed, yet we cannot forbear to hope that these nations will return to a sense of justice and of duty, that they will give to this country a free enjoyment of those blessings which are her rights, and of which in a moment of lawless oppression, she has been unjustly deprived. In any event, we feel confident that under the auspices of those whom the people have selected as the depositories of their power, cemented by union and harmony, and with the benignant interposition of that providence which has heretofore been "the stability of our times, and the strength of our salvation," the destinies of this republic will rise superior to existing difficulties,

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and be more firmly fixed in the affections of our citizens, and the respect of mankind."

*Washington, June 11.*—Don Louis de Onís, minister plenipotentiary of his Christian Majesty, Ferdinand VII. has sent the following circular officially, to the Consuls and Vice-Consuls in the different ports of the United States:—

"Under date of the 27th of April last, I am informed by the intendant of Havannah, that our king Ferdinand VII. and in his name the Regency of the kingdom, has been pleased, under the existing circumstances, to grant to neutrals and allies, admittance into the ports of Havannah, Cuba, Trinidad, and Matangas, with such articles as are stipulated in the commercial arrangement of free trade of 1778, on condition, that the proceeds of importation shall be exported in the fruits or produce of the island; causing by these means, and the same terms, an extension of the trade to the inhabitants of that island, and all the permitted ports thereof. But to prevent any contraband trade, or importation of French produce or manufactures, it will be required that such shipments should be accompanied by his Majesty's consul's certificate, in their respective ports of clearance, without which documents no vessels will be admitted an entry. I communicate this to you, in order to publish the same to such individuals or merchants within your consulate, whom it may concern, that in no instance they may allege ignorance, requesting you to give me timely notice after the execution of the same. I pray God, &c.

(Signed) LOUIS DE ONÍS."

#### CARACCAS.—*Royal Order of Blockade.*

The following Royal Order, dated the 31st ult. and transmitted through the usual channel to the Consulate, has been published:—

"The Council of Regency no sooner received the unexpected and disagreeable intelligence of the events that have occurred in the Caraccas, the natives whereof, instigated no doubt by some intriguers and factious persons, have committed the indignity of declaring themselves independent of the mother country, and created a Junta of government which exercises the pretended independent authority, than his Majesty determined upon taking the most active and efficacious measures to attack an evil so scandalous both in its origin

and progress. But in order to proceed with that mature deliberation and circumspection, which a matter of such importance demands, his Majesty thought it proper to advise thereon with the Supreme Council of Spain and the Indies. This has accordingly been done, and such measures have consequently been adopted, as his Majesty entertains no doubt will accomplish the object in view; more particularly as, according to subsequent accounts, neither the Capital and Province of Maracaibo, that of Coro, nor even the interior of Caraccas itself, have taken part in so criminal a proceeding; but on the contrary, that they have not only recognized the Council of Regency, but also, animated with the best spirit in favour of the people of the mother country, have taken the most efficacious measures to oppose the absurd idea of the Caraccas declaring themselves independent, without the means of maintaining their independence. His Majesty has, nevertheless, deemed it indispensable to declare, as he hereby declares, the Province of the Caraccas to be in a state of rigorous blockade; ordering that no vessels shall enter the ports thereof, under pain of being detained by the cruizers and vessels of his Majesty, and forbidding all Commandants and Chiefs civil or military of any of the provinces or dominions of his Majesty, to authorize vessels to proceed to La Guaira, or to grant permits or licences to any vessel bound thereto, or to any port or creek of the said Province; and further, commanding that all vessels sailing therefrom whithersoever bound, shall be seized, detained, and confiscated; and in order to carry this measure into effect, his Majesty is forwarding a sufficient naval force to prevent any vessel from entering or departing from the ports of the said Province.

—His Majesty also directs that all the Commandants and Chiefs of the Provinces contiguous to the said Province, do obstruct the introduction therein of any description of provisions, arms, or stores, and likewise the exportation of the productions of its soil or industry; and that they exert themselves to cut off all communication with the inhabitants of the said Province.

—This royal resolution does not extend to such Provinces of that Captain-generalship as, declining to follow the pernicious example of that of the Caraccas, have manifested their constant fidelity, by renouncing the project of rebellion, which has solely originated in the unbounded

ambition of some of the inhabitants, and the blind credulity of the rest, in suffering themselves to be hurried away by the inflamed passions of their fellow-countrymen. His Majesty has taken the proper means for the complete extirpation of these evils, and chastising the authors thereof with all the rigour which the rights of sovereignty authorise him to exercise, if they do not previously make a voluntary submission; in which case his Majesty grants them a general pardon.—His Majesty orders that these dispositions be circulated in his dominions for the purpose of being carried into effect, and also in foreign parts, that they may conform themselves to the measures adopted for the blockade of the above mentioned coasts; and by order of his Majesty I transmit the same to your Honour for your information," &c.

*SICILY.—Official Note of the Council of Regency of the Kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, to the Chevalier Robertone, Charge d'Affaires of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies. Dated Cadiz, July 19, 1810.*

The Council of Regency of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, to whom I have communicated the Note which I had the honour of receiving from you, under date of the 6th inst. feels the greatest concern, that an affair, (the nature of which never should have produced any effect contrary to the good opinion and unalterable attachment which the august Queen of the Two Sicilies most justly possesses to the good cause, to the great sacrifices she made in its support, and to the known firmness of her character and principles) could ever give rise to the slightest motive in some members of the British Parliament, for entertaining any doubts of the continuation of the system, to which the Court of the Two Sicilies has invariably adhered.—A small degree of reflection, as to the authenticity of the supposed letter written by Napoleon to the Queen of the Two Sicilies, will necessarily shew, that even in case of its being authentic, it is very improbable that he ever should have entrusted any one with a copy for the sake of having it published, and still less that it should fall into the hands of a woman writing to her husband or lover in Spain. Besides, how is it possible that Napoleon

should have made use of the language contained in this letter in addressing himself to a Queen, whose principles are entirely opposed to his, and whose hatred to his person could not have been manifested in a stronger manner, since he usurped the French throne, a throne stained with the blood of so many illustrious victims, among whom was her Majesty's own sister?—The Council of Regency have looked upon this letter as spurious from the very first moment it came to their knowledge through the Badajoz Diary, and the circumstance of its not having been permitted to appear in the Gazette of Government proves the truth of this.—Could his Majesty (the Council of Regency) have imagined that such a production could have been productive of the least alteration towards the Court of the Two Sicilies in the British Parliament, or in the minds of the British Ministry, he would have ordered the publication of some Paper demonstrating the slender foundation of the letter in question, and would moreover have adopted other measures, which he might have thought proper, to discredit it. His Majesty is, however, fully convinced, that the English Cabinet is too well informed, and possesses too much sagacity, to be misled by so improbable a letter, or that it could occasion the least alteration in the opinion hitherto entertained of the inviolable principles of the Court of the Two Sicilies. Your mind ought, therefore, to be perfectly at ease as to this point.—Those who, under the supposed restriction of the press, argue that from the very circumstance of this letter being printed in Spain, it must be genuine, are but ill-informed of the actual state of the Peninsula in this respect. True it is, that the liberty of the press is not authorised by law, nor expressly permitted by Government; but, notwithstanding this, there exists an equivalent toleration; particularly the Diary of Badajoz, which, being printed under no authority, uses much liberty in every thing it writes.—On the other hand, no original can be traced to which recourse might be had; and whatever the letter of Madame Beuret Cellerier may be, such as it is, it cannot be noticed, and still less the copy included of the supposed letter to Napoleon, this lady not being known.

(To be continued.)